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171 754 ● 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetö, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

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* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmeica and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

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*171 754 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the amápö falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaïrí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser, could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje, French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one. Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetö chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kxurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 754 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimulation of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it, no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The

*171 755 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

B /345 cont./
*171 by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
276 more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of
poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriôku
or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seũwi or timbo vine (Paullinia
pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtĩko. Everyone listens
B 789 attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
● 756 great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many
other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight
exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when
they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
756 palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
203 drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication,
makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the
concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination
coincide.

B 204 The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among
many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at
the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is
kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible
groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient,
but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor
permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which
he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The
cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and,
with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A 222 The Auetö chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
955 undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the
poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-
man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall
ill. The Auetö chief had already been dead. When the medicine

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peoples. [974] I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
● 756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

793 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[792] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[791] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes. they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Inland Karaiben have a benign "deity," Icheiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically. If there is a connection and Icheiri is ancient

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796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
● 956 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamîka.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Caraïba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacairi it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapiçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

956 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacairi.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
956 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
992 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Paratamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamîka who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (/). To punish him, the Yamîka drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamîka explained why he had drowned Paratamido, treated him very well, presented him with manioc, with beijús, and taught him the dance of the Kamitowo. This shows what different relations the yamîkas

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have with the piaki and with the common people (wanoiolo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /262/ with which they killed Miro and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of unalipos (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimaan /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piaki-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kaowi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it unmercifully.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as nunbe, pinduva, vainibd, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kaowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat puib, mingbo, fat, meat, iambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of baiyb and polvilho broth.

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756 346 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the dance house (Kwaãéti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Kaúwi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

825 After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Kaúwi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aruhur-iokyo), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamîka, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

756 825 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic animals: macaws, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucacas, mutums, maracanãs, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anums, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing later, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 The differences between the curer and the common yamîka begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-te-ete goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar: Who goes there? the yamîkas say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

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the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beiçé, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (arundo-ko), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches manihoca dough; he ties the tail of a red macaw with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old nights; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pûri or bûri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

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After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

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756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[794] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puberevo. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white pacú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 796 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the person against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

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756 757 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamîra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamîra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topuihe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topuihe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topuihe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topuihe is in the sky; the Topuihe does not die /208/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topuihe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamîra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamîra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (matudaha), answers Topuihe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topuihe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topuihe. When Yamîra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topuihe; Topuihe is not to be killed, says the curer.

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75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi sewuocenihiri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi sewuocesi-hiri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shooting down the path; at night he returns home shooting. He orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topashe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

• 756 Piahi wanders about with yamiira, wanders about with the jaguar (uuo-ao, the same radical as udo, udordiri, "enemy"). He goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he hates us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook. He does all these things when he is angry.

?? Thus, the Bacairi sees three great forces in the world: ?? inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult ?? because he does no harm; yamiira, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continually; the piahi, yamiira

/270 cont./
of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitaino ecotiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kitaino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a tool for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Tywasgodro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the person who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kwarioio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar auri, the horse auri, the queixada auri, the turtle auri, the crab auri of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kwarioio and the Kuruaibe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of Aiweto.

159 619 /22 cont./
inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Corrado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already 353 619 182 mentioned that José Corrado's large house showed friezes with paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again participating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because 756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

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When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain misgiving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way, fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the more exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeias or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mama, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beiju/. I mention this fact especially, because

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In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

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1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

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literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

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The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeias in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunéo feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamúra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamúra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kaú or ruiuin, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a cadáver while [illegible] second soul, kagatopun, a more fluid element that

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When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

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In Nalotert's aldea, the kadopa change into iamûra. But the iamûra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamûra portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

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By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamûra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

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Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

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11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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796 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Inanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanaguroro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the functions of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiika, topiehe, inanaguroro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiika with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necesary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeoru (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 8 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained inside, enclosed in the kajaeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iandira. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

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In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as tumbe, pondwa, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of kawaui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

The Bakairi had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the informations obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasions when the ears of the boys about to be included were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunino, or end of the uanui state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On these occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for days. Bakairi musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of pequi shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: ouuru and kanagoua, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadikua and nakigoua, used in secular festivities. The Bakairi also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

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studies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamúlira and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairí himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagunpíri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagunpíri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamúlira. For this reason the Bakairí did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than welcome, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

718 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamúlira, kadopa, tapiehe, karoni, inanagurono, and kalaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uaiki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, death, and shamanistic initiation. Uaiki was followed by the reintegration of the individual /to the community/ through the tadzulina celebration. The other method was shamanism. Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamúlira and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

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195 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large sáiwa, reflects as might be expected the organization of their sáiwa. Once changed into iamúlira, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as weapons for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

[p.93-B]

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rule or avoidance of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERAIÉLLE)

Pregnancy (*owáhle*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

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came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *enahpire*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*piaje*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, baths were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *enisi* or *kenagire*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pendire* tuber, and *tarigi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the *arawinhe* the juice made by boiling the *kwanatini* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kaninro* plant and by mixing *piyai* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiripenidi*. The ball (*tsiri*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

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537 nut bells tied together and fastened to the ankles
of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of
flutes. The *ewini* flute was made from two
pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened
together with wax and string. This flute was
about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a
separate mouthpiece. The *kenagára* flute was
made like the *ewini* but was shorter and had a
different sound. Both the *ewini* and the *kenagára*
were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always
kept in the sacred flute house connected to the
kashishi where they were played only at night so as
to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman
were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would
befall her. When the sacred flutes were played
there was dancing but no singing. The *tadiowa*
was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths
without finger holes and was not sacred. The
nokipire was made by fastening four short tubes
of bamboo of different lengths together. It was
played in pairs, one player answering the other.
This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied
by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes,
the Bavairi used highly decorated sticks or batons
called *kadaiyeri* in some of their dances.

537 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to
538 their tunes, the Bavairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ariko* was
a song and a dance performed with the decorated
batons which could be performed at any time; the
pukawaiu, another general song and dance which
also could be performed at any time; the *gwaniairi*,
the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes
nor batons were used; the *makwaiairi*, performed
during the house building ceremony without batons
or flutes; and the *perewaiu*, sung and danced during
the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events
of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjiwaiairi*), which was performed when the corn
ripened in the fields. The man who had the
largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bavairi
527 usually planted special fields, the yields of which
were used on this occasion. On the day before
528 the corn gathering all the men went on a big
hunt in order to have large quantities of meat
ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the
following day everyone went out to the fields to